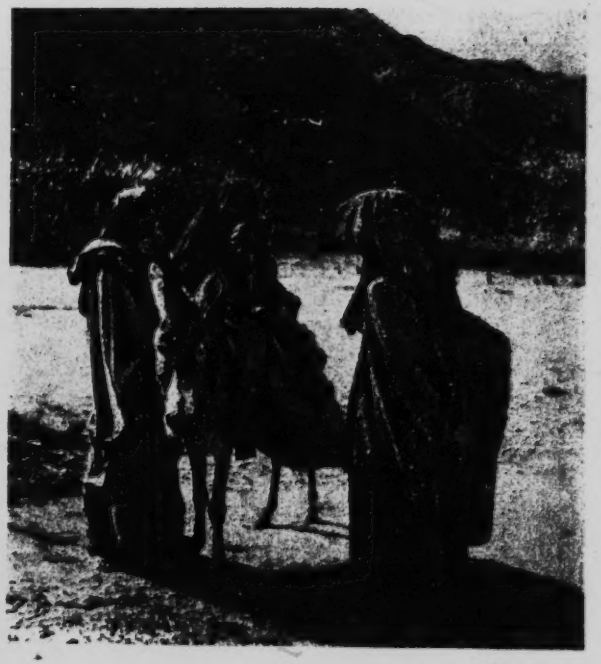
591
492
291

291
353
352
855

The inside of a tent. The baggage is hung from the tent poles. Very young children play on the ground, where a thick layer of fine sand has been placed.



Kel Ahaggar women, especially the Imrad women, often ride on the backs of asses. One of them has just met two friends, with whom she is exchanging news on the maharists who have gone far away.

1: Lhote--66a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

513 No one has a bed except the aménokal, who owns one of the Hausa
[352 type; this model has also been adopted in a certain number /227/
177 of Kel Oui /Owey/ camps. (1) The man and woman each sleep on
643]

1. Contrary to what has been said, the bed is not Tuareg but Hausa. Its use is spread among the sedentary people of Aïr, Damergou, and Sokoto, and it is made by Hausa smiths.

his or her own side of the tent, the boys with their father and the girls with their mother.

354 There are no cradles for babies among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and young children are placed on a skin or on blankets. Sometimes a hemispheric wicker frame is put over them and covered with a cloth to cut off the light or protect them from sandstorms.

The Kel Aïr and the Tenguéréguif have little cradles which are suspended from the top of the tent.

354 Fire. -- In front of each tent there is a hearth, generally made of three stones. It is not intended for cooking purposes, but rather for warmth in the evening after the sun has gone down when all the people gather in the shelter of the asaber, which is unrolled in an arc in front of the tent. The flame warms up hearts and
[272 bodies and synthesizes family and friendship. Sometimes a container of water is placed on the three stones to heat in order to make tea.

343 The cooking fire is set apart, generally some three or four
354 meters from the tent, in the shelter of a little stone wall in order to protect it from the wind.

372 We have not been able to find any myth on the origin of fire
773 among the Tuareg. According to them it was created by God, who gave it to man to cook food. Iblis (Satan) wanted to seize the secret of how it was made, and God punished him by creating

773 372 the tortures of hell. Iblis, however, communicated his secret to the blacksmiths, who since that time have known how to use it for metalworking.

372 The Tuareg used to obtain fire by friction, using a board of [824] torha (callotropis procera) and a branch of hardwood; they caught the spark on a tuft of silk from the fruit of the callotropis and blew on it until they got a flame, which required about a minute. They have kept this practice and still use it occasionally.

[439 177] Today they find matches sold by /228/ Tamanrasset merchants, but they all have tinderboxes with flint and a bent piece of iron.

[415 439] They do not keep up the fire. They carry it from one tent to the other in a fragment of an old gourd or sometimes hold a glowing ember in their hands without burning themselves.

[237 484] When they want to transport it long distances, they use camel-dung embers.

Fig. 27. Ahaggar Tuareg dish, imported from Hausa country.

[237] The Tuareg commonly use the excrement of camels and goats as fuel. In the high [137] mountains, wood is quite rare, but in the lower parts of the Koudia old acacia or éthel /atle? Ed./ stumps are to be found. They never [824] use the wood of the callotropis, which is the devil's tree and makes muffled noises when it is burned.

[823] Basalt blocks are never used to make the hearth, since they believe that basalt is possessed by genii and will explode violently when heated.

● 352 Furniture. -- We have briefly described the objects furnishing the parts of the tent reserved for the husband and wife. To these must be added a certain number of objects which make up the

352

furniture. These objects are not numerous and reflect the primitive life led by the Tuareg.

On the left side of the tent is generally found the goatskin water bag, hung on two wooden stakes placed in a V-shape. An old piece of cloth often covers it to protect it from the sun. The waterskin is often empty, for the Tuareg are not very farsighted. When there is water, they drink; when /229/ they are out of it, they stay there waiting a half day until the Iklan get back from the well.

Fig. 28.
Tent shovel.

When a traveler passes by, he is most generally assailed with demands for water, while he himself often hoped to find some in the camp.

In front of the door and close to all the tents is an enormous wooden mortar and its pestle, in which the servant girl crushes millet and dates. By searching a bit in the tent or in the shelter used as a kitchen, one may find two or three hemispheric wooden dishes destined to hold food and two or three conical bowls serving as drinking vessels. Hanging on one of the outer stakes of the tent are a wooden milking vessel, an esparto winnowing basket for sifting millet flour, serving at the same time as a dish cover, one or two little esparto mats which can serve the same purpose, and finally a few wooden spoons. Each mistress of a tent has a little

2:Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

351 and are extended out in front to form a sheltered enclosure which is usually semicircular with the entrance opening in the middle. The little forecourt and the ground inside the tent as well are covered with clean sand or very fine gravel from the bed of a nearby stream. Tuareg camps are always very tidy and astonishingly clean.

Both in the forecourt and in the tent itself
562 the men's place is on the right as you enter
342 and the women's and children's on the left, which is the reverse of the arrangement customary among Arabs. It has often been said that the men's place is on the East, but this is simply because tents are almost always pitched facing south.

● 352 Household furniture and effects include
[439] sheepskins, or rugs obtained from the North by trade, leather bags of food and personal belongings, saddles, bridles and weapons,
[415] wooden bowls, funnels and spoons and maybe an earthenware cooking pot or two, a wooden
[412] mortar and pestle or perhaps two sets of different sizes, and a stone quern which may be either of the Neolithic saddle type or the small rotary model of the Roman Legions. Arms and food are stored in the men's half of the tent and equipment connected with food preparation in the women's half. A guerba full of water is hung from two long stakes just outside the forecourt. A brush
[343] windbreak built nearby shelters the outdoor kitchen, and another windbreak, some 50 to 100 yards away, shelters the family slaves.

Sometimes in the hottest months, and particularly when a camp remains stationary for a considerable length of time as it does in periods so dry that it is dangerous to move far from a permanent water supply, the tents may be stowed away and zeribas set up in their place. We recall that these are cubical or cylindrical structures made of reeds, long grass or palm fronds laid over a wooden framework measuring roughly 10 to 15 feet across and 8 to 10 feet high (fig. 37, *a*). The Amenokal's camp was installed in zeribas when the writer visited it in November, 1955, near the end of an unusually long period of drought.

361 Camps are always pitched in an inconspicuous spot and always on high ground except on very rare occasions when the sky is cloud-

tanned and sewed together. The assemblage of these hides [281] constitutes the cover, the essential part of the tent, and is 342 called "ehakit" ⵄⵀⴰⴽⵉⵜ .

The tent is supported by a central master beam called "tamankaït" ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵏⴽⴰⵢⵜ .

A pole, "idjem" ⵉⴷⵊⴻⵎ , is placed at the entrance of the tent and is flanked right and left by poles called "madar'en" ⵎⴰⴷⴰⵔⵄⴻⵏ . /26/

Other poles are used to hold up the edges: these are the "tissedass" ⵜⵉⵙⵙⴻⴷⴰⵙⵙ . The little pegs that hold the tent to the ground are called "tisselitaï" ⵜⵉⵙⵙⵍⵉⵜⴰⵢ . Sometimes bows are also used, called "adjedjou" ⴰⴷⵊⴻⴷⵊⵓ , plural "idjedjan" ⵉⴷⵊⴻⴷⵊⴰⵏ .

The tent is surrounded by mats of "afezzou" ⴰⴼⴻⵣⵣⵓ [285 (Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae), called "asabar" ⴰⵙⴰⴱⴰⵔ 824] plural "isebran" ⵉⵙⴻⴱⵔⴰⵏ , which are pulled back in the day and drawn close at night, to close the tent.

In the tent one finds first that which concerns water, that 352 is, waterskins, "abeïor'" ⴰⴱⴻⵉⵓⵔ , plural "ibiyar'" 415 ⵉⴱⵉⵢⴰⵔ , hung on forked sticks, "tidjettaouin" ⵜⵉⴷⵊⴻⵜⵜⴰⵓⵉⵏ . They are filled by means of a funnel, "asegueffi" ⴰⵙⴻⴳⵓⴻⴼⴼⵉ , plural "iseguеffa" ⵉⵙⴻⴳⵓⴻⴼⴼⴰ . To water the camels, the 231 Tuareg use troughs of hide supported by hoops at the top and called "tafaraout" ⵜⴰⴼⴰⵔⴰⵓⵜ , plural "tiferouin" ⵜⵉⴼⴻⵔⵓⵉⵏ . They also use these troughs for the harvest of "toulloult" grain 243 (Arthraterum pungens, Graminaceae) or of "afezzou" (Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae).

For milk and butter, they have a waterskin for milk, 415 "tanouart" ⵜⴰⵏⵓⴰⵔⵜ , plural "tinouarin" ⵜⵉⵏⵓⴰⵔⵉⵏ , and a kind of porous water jug made of a hollowed gourd and called "az'enou" ⴰⵣⵄⴻⵏⵓ . To ladle the milk, serve ~~it or pour it~~, they use a wooden vessel with one handle called "asoukal" ⴰⵙⵓⴽⴰⵍ . To store and transport melted butter, "oudi," they have waterskins of various shapes, the most common being the one called "tahattint" ⵜⴰⵀⴰⵜⵜⵉⵏⵜ , but they also sometimes [281] use the tanned hide of a camel's thigh. /27/

261 /93 cont./ To sum up the migrations of the Kel Ahaggar,
166 let us say that they extend in a radius of about 100 kilometers,
221 within the tribal lands, but that the men may lead the herds, according to the times, toward pastures 1, 000 kilometers from the family camp, and that an annual series of caravans sees them cover 15° of latitude.

The harratin cultivators are only sedentary on occasion; each year there is a large human movement from one agricultural center to another. There are three reasons for this: the Tuareg, owners of the soil, are no longer able to furnish the hartani with enough seed or to fulfill the agricultural contract; water bwgins to be lacking in a center, or digging foggaras becomes impossible; lastly, the exhausted land needs rest. It is thus that, from one year to the next, an important, well-cultivated center may become /94/ insignificant and even deserted. It appears to be impossible to establish a cycle for these agricultural migrations.

Tuareg Furnishings

352 Lightness and flexibility are the two essential qualities of
492 Tuareg furnishings. All of these objects must be transported on the backs of animals; weight, therefore, is the principal enemy; moreover, it is easier for the animals to carry loads capable of molding themselves against the animals' bodies.
415 Thus we find a whole assortment of sacks, chiefly leather ones, in the Tuareg equipment.

These sacks are tanned in such a way as to keep the leather very flexible; but the process employed is suitable only for extremely dry climates: transported to France, the Tuareg leathers seem to come alive again, they swell with humidity, then give off a disagreeable odor, and finally become unusable.

415 All of these sacks are decorated. Some are colored and
531 bear designs put on with dye or are decorated with tinted

415 /94 cont./ leather, and sometimes they are even embellished
531 with motifs on cloth, accentuated with needlework in silk; others are made of natural leather, adorned with frayed leather thongs, for the main principle of decoration for everything carried on a camel's back seems to be to lengthen the lines in order to make them harmonize with the silhouette of this amazing animal. The decorative motifs are many but always linear; the circle, as well as the arc, is used, but the straight line dominates; there are no arabesques, no complicated curves; triangles, squares, rectangles, even trapeziums and diamond shapes are used. Red is the chief color for leather, but a wide range of other colors, artistically used, makes possible some pleasing effects; delicate greens characterize the work coming from the Sudan, pure whites are set in blacks, dark greens, and browns, different tones of yellow cover large surfaces. Then, slight grooves in the dyed leather produce interesting effects.

[492] /95/ The sacks are secured on the animals by numerous cords. These are plaited with goat's hair. Making all these fittings takes unimaginable time and patience. Such a task cannot be thought of except in relation to a nomadic tribe.

An interesting study could be made on Tuareg decoration, comparing it to that of certain Indian tribes of America; one thinks in this connection of the hypotheses advanced by Commandant Cauvet in Les Berbères en Amérique /Berbers In America/.

●352 Here is a list of the various objects to be found in a Tuareg tent, undoubtedly an incomplete list, for the most familiar objects are the easiest to forget.

The woman, mistress of the hearth, owns her personal effects. The wardrobe bag, a large rectangle 80 by 60 centimeters at the top of which is an opening 30 centimeters high by 50 centimeters wide, is called "agherredj"; clothes are kept in it. Some of these agherredj are magnificent works of art.

352 /95 cont./ The other sacks belonging to the women all have the same shape. The "guerfa" is smaller than the agherredj; the "tarerrat" plaited in goat's hair is not seen as often.

The "adhaboun" consist of a whole series of small sacks of the most varied forms with a solid frame of plaited palm or sometimes of wood; small objects are put away in them: 422 jewels, perfumes, remedies, etc. All of these sacks are 414 generally closed with the famous Tuareg padlock, only a token lock, but always respected.

492 Rich women possess a special saddle called "akhaoui" or "takhaouit" according to its size, kept in a corner of the tent. It is an extremely curious assemblage of three types of wood (tehounek, rose laurel, tabrakat), each piece of which is chosen according to its use, shaped, cut, and decorated. The different pieces of the takhaouit are bound together with leather; it takes years to bring together branches that can be used, this work being almost always done by the women. The "haïf" is a strap /96/ that secures the saddle to the back of the camel; plaited in goat's hair, it measures five centimeters wide and three meters long; one end is adorned with an enormous pompon 50 centimeters wide and sometimes weighing more than three kilograms; embroidery in red and green wool gives a sumptuous air to the pendant, which reaches nearly to the ground when the haïf secures the saddle.

A richly decorated takhaouit has other pompons symmetrical to the haïf; these are the "tidarsiouin."

352 The feminine rug par excellence, which covers the tarraouit during a trip, comes from Timmimoun and is called "tagamdafest"; it has large black, red, and green bands, and, in the middle of it, tufts of yellow, black, and green wool.

Let us add to the objects belonging to the woman the 415 "sendouq," a kind of small box in which sugar and tea are kept; the name, of Arabic origin, seems to indicate that it is of relatively recent importation. The "tesenit" is a palm-fiber basket in which kitchen utensils are kept.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

137
233*
552

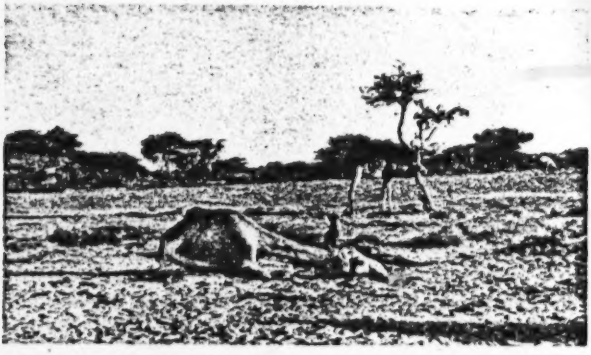


Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinaɣ*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *ténilt*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

In Ayr the Tuareg do not 237
use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people [564]
who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin [352]
for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, [824]
270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a–b, 161a–d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep.

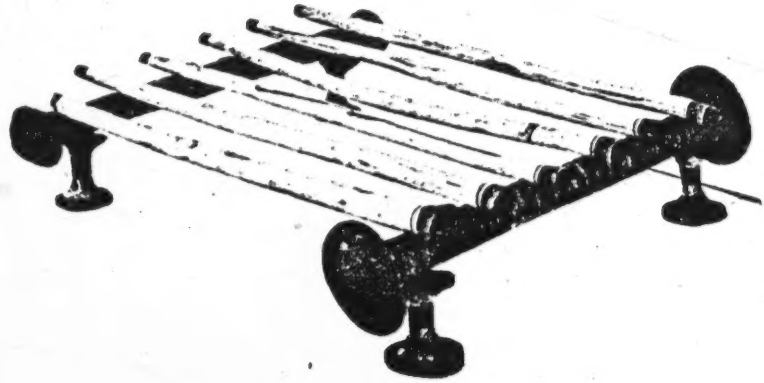
When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water, 281
but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there 114
are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and 237
among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords 283
to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abeɣu*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*asaṛun*) tied around the foreleg of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is 286
also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for the caravan expeditions which will 492*
be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described. 484

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which 492*
721

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

352
322
824



[285]

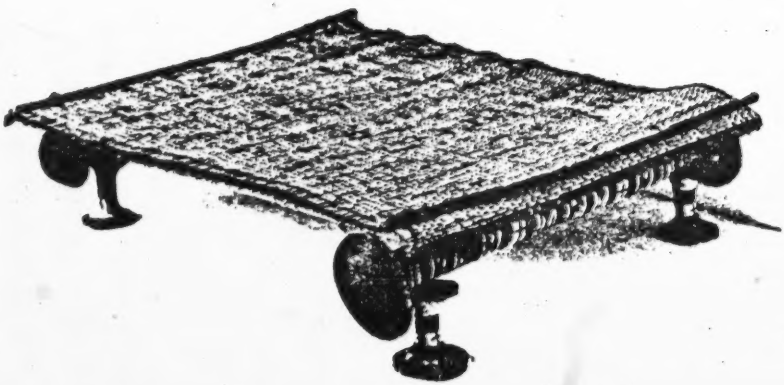
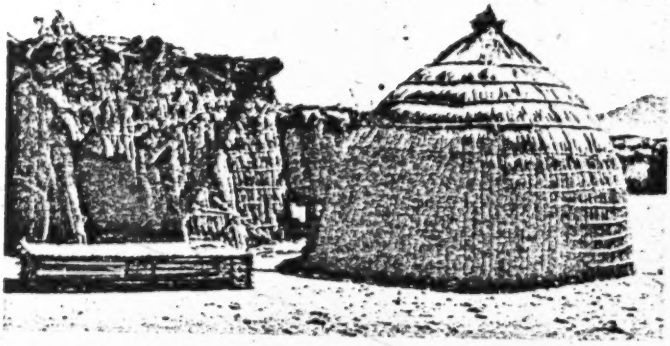


Fig. 212a-b. The large wooden bed (*tédabut*) which is used by all pastoral Ayr Tuareg.

a. The wooden skeleton consisting of the following parts:— (1) Four wooden legs (*tésetkelt*, pl. *tisetkal*). (2) Two horizontal cross-beams (*tabatukat*, pl. *tibatukatin*) carved into the shape of a disc at their ends. (3) Six horizontal poles (*afasas*, pl. *ifesasen*) resting in shallow grooves of the horizontal cross-beams. These poles are made from wood of a tree called *koriya*; this type of wood is also used for the heavy cross-beam seen in the front, while the hindmost cross-beam is made of wood called *tereza*.

b. The wooden skeleton covered with two mats (*tésbert*, pl. *tisebrin*) of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). The stems of this grass are tied together with leather strips. Beds are frequently covered with three mats. Dimension of the bed: ca. 1.70×1.36×0.21 m. (N.M. G. 6640a-o).

*342



[352]

Fig. 257. A square *téjira* hut (left) and a beehive hut of the *tatṛamt* type (right). To the left is also seen a bed of palm fronds lashed together with hide. These beds are used by sedentary agriculturists. Ayr, Awderas.

palm leaves. The upper part of the hut is generally covered with palm leaves kept together by means of outer circular rods, but, before the roof is laid on, a small plaited mat attached to a wooden frame and known as *tégelengelt* (pl. *tigelengelin*) is placed over the top of the structure as a protection against rain. Seen from the outside beehive huts of this type bear a resemblance to cylindrical huts with conical roofs. Beehive huts of the structure just described vary much in size. A normal hut is about 1.75–2.00 metres high with a diameter of about 2.50–3.00 metres.

Beehive huts possibly different from those mentioned above are described by Rodd. They are said to have a frame made of palm-frond ribs planted in the ground and tied together at the top, and according to illustrations they are covered exclusively with straw. Rodd's illustrations of beehive huts are taken from the villages of Towar and Timia (Rodd 1926a, p. 184, pl. 20). Huts akin to those mentioned by Rodd have also been depicted by Buchanan (Buchanan 1926, p. 140).

[103]

Beehive huts are extremely common in Southern Tuareg countries and adjacent regions. In Ayr I have seen beehive huts of the *tatṛamt* type in all villages visited from Iferwan to Agadez, and they also occur in Damergu together with cylindrical huts with conical roofs. I have not seen beehive huts at Zinder, but they are found among the sedentary Hausa of the Birni – N'Koni region – according to the excellent exhibition of the IFAN Museum at Niamey. Hausa beehive huts differ as to construction. Some huts have a cylindrical wall built of mud and supporting the roof, which may also be plastered with mud at the inner side, while other huts have a cylindrical mud wall inside the lower part of the structure and a pronged central post to support the roof. There are also very simple beehive huts which serve for sleeping huts; they are sometimes placed upon high platforms where mosquitoes are less embarrassing. Beehive huts are extremely common along the Niger where I have seen them

*342
171

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

lashed together to form arches are manufactured by the Ayr women, or are imported from the south by the *Kel Geres* Tuareg when they visit Ayr at the end of the rains. The arches manufactured by the Ayr women are made from the very long horizontal roots (*tékéwt*) of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*). Pieces of root of suitable size are placed over an open fire for a while, and are thereupon bent into the desired curve which is secured by cords. When the root pieces thus treated become dry they will retain their curved form; the cords are then untied and the root pieces fashioned with a knife. However, wooden arches imported by the *Kel Geres* are used by many Ayr Tuareg who claim that these arches are superior to their own. They are said to be manufactured from boughs (or roots?) of a tree known as *tarmumiya*, which does not grow in Ayr but in the *Kel Geres* country.

(2) Parallel to the three arches there are two pairs of cross-bars supported by vertical sticks, a pair being placed at both sides of the arches to form the narrow sides of the dwelling. These cross-bars are termed *izgar* (sing. *éseger*). They are sometimes made by blacksmiths, and are then provided with various ornaments including a little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of the bar. In fairly large tents each cross-bar is supported by four vertical sticks, the two middle ones of which are generally forked, while the two outer sticks are somewhat higher and attached to the cross-bar with cords. All these vertical sticks, including the outer ones which have no prongs, are termed *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewt*). In smaller tents there are only two or three sticks supporting the cross-bar. The vertical sticks used to support the cross-bars are normally very simple. Sticks of the very light *turza* tree (*Calotropis procera*) are preferred.

(3) Over this skeleton of arches and cross-bars supported by vertical sticks are placed a number of slender curved rods which are termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*). These rods are made from acacia roots, as described above, or are rods of the *tarmumiya* tree imported from the south. These rods form semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the tent. Each of these semi-arches consists of two identical rods fastened to the horizontal cross-bars at their thick end, while at their thin ends they are lashed together and fastened to the true arches. There is always a considerable number of these slender semi-arches, normally about ten.

The Ayr Tuareg use the following types of mats to cover the upper part of the dome-shaped structure:— *iwerweren* (sing. *éwerwer*), the mats made from plant stems tied to each other with leather thread (cf. p. 350); *isfal* (sing. *ésefel*), mats of an oval shape plaited from dum palm leaves; *asalemamas*, a long narrow piece of mat made from dum palm leaves. In addition there is the term *éreli* which designates the long narrow mat plaited from dum palm leaves surrounding the lower part of the tent structure. In very hot weather this mat is omitted so that currents of air may pass through the dwelling, while the tent is closed when it is cold, or during storms. A tent as that described has a dome-shaped or barrel-vaulted superstructure, the ground-plan being almost rectangular. A tent of normal size will measure about 3.00×4.50 m with a height of 1.80 to 1.90 m.

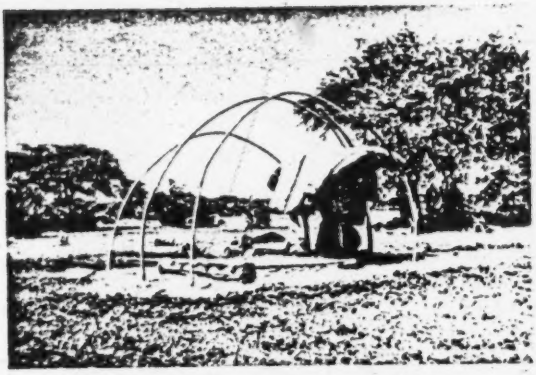
The mat tent is erected by one or two Tuareg women in the following way:—

(1) The ground is cleared; (2) The large wooden bed (*tédabut*), which is used everywhere in the south, is placed upon the ground to facilitate measuring; (3) Two large pronged posts, which serve to carry woman's riding cushions and various large skin bags, are placed behind the bed and fixed into holes dug by means of some iron implement, e.g., the cooking tripod, the broad end of a lance,

[Text continues on p. 353]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

*342
285
137
352



The Erection of a Mat Tent in Ayr.

Fig. 265a. The wooden bed (*tédabat*) is placed upon the cleared ground. The pronged posts carrying riding cushions, skin bags, etc., and the curved wooden pieces constituting the three arches known as *takkakkawat* and *t'illawin* are buried in the ground. The cushions and decorated skin bags resting in the heavy wooden prongs are temporarily covered with tent mats that their colours may not be damaged by sunshine.

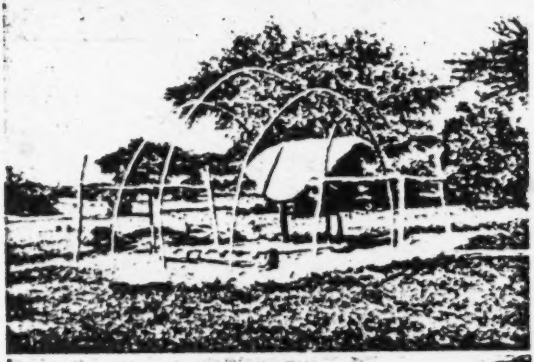


Fig. 265b. The arch pieces are lashed together and the two horizontal cross-bars (*iagar*) are fixed to vertical sticks (*tigettewin*) buried in the ground at the narrow ends of the tent. A little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of each cross-bar is seen on this photograph.

[284]

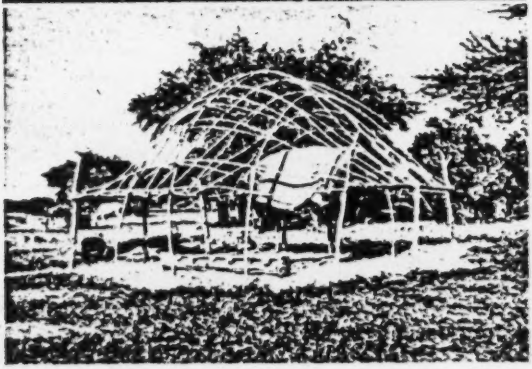


Fig. 265c. A long cord is wound around the high middle arch to form loops for the insertion of the slender rods forming semi-arches in the longitudinal direction. The thick ends of these rods are fastened to the cross-bars but are not yet lashed together at their upper, narrow ends.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

The Erection of a Mat Tent in Ayr.

342*
285
137
[352]

Fig. 265d. The narrow ends of the pieces of longitudinal semiarches are linked together. The tent structure is now finished to be covered with mats. The interior cover consisting of two rectangular mats made from plant stems and known as *iwerwerwe* (sing. *ăwerwer*) is seen on this photograph.

[284]

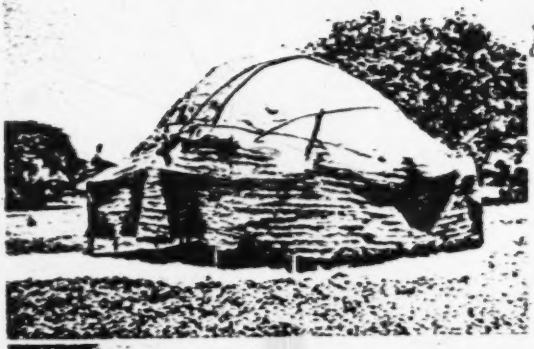


Fig. 265e. The dum palm mats of oval shape (*ăfel*) and the long narrow dum palm mats (*asukwassar*) are placed over the *iwerwerwe* mats and are tied to the dome-shaped structure with cords. The narrow dum palm mat (*ăyeli*) surrounding the lower part of the tent is fixed to the structure.

[133]

Fig. 265f. The mat tent is taken down for erection in a new place. The woman standing within the structure is loosening the looped cord which keeps the semi-arches to the high middle arch. It is not the same tent as that depicted Fig. 265a-e but the two tents belong to the same camp of the *Imezzureg* tribe near Agadez in Southern Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

arch about 1.50 m high. It consisted of two boughs fixed in the ground and lashed together at their tops; this was termed *aɣeɣu* (pl. *iɣeɣan*). At both sides of this arch there was a horizontal cross-bar known as *areɣaraɣa* (pl. *ireɣeraɣaten*) which rested upon two forked sticks (*téɣeɣɣewt*, pl. *tiɣeɣɣewin*). The arch and the two pairs of horizontal cross-bars were parallel to one another, connected by means of two semi-arches termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*) each of them made from two slender rods attached to each other over the arch. These semi-arches were fastened to the middle arch and to the outer edges of the two cross-bars by means of cords. Around this structure, which supported the sheet, there was a number of wooden poles or posts some of which were higher than the tent. These poles and posts were used for the attachment of the sheet, which, however, during my visit rested over the structure without any attachment. A narrow mat of the ordinary *afezu*-type belonged to this tent (Fig. 271).

Tents structurally akin to the B.2.a.2. type but without semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the dwelling are found south and north of the Tamesna region:—

B.2.a.3. This tent was seen in a camp inhabited by blacksmiths of the *Kel Dennek* country around Tawa. They had temporarily settled not far from Agadez to work among pastoral *Kel Ayr*. The camp comprised only three tents which were very small – about 4.00 × 2.00 m with a height of about 1.20 m. The tents were structurally identical and had sheets sewn together from many small pieces of skin resting upon the following structure:— A central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction. It was called *teḳḳeḳḳewat* (pl. *teḳḳeḳḳewatin*) like the central arch of the ordinary mat tent among the Ayr Tuareg. At both sides of this arch and parallel to it there was a somewhat lower horizontal cross-bar resting upon two forked sticks (*tigettewin*, sing. *tégettewt*). The sheet rested upon this structure and was fastened to a few upright poles fixed in the ground around it. There were three such sticks at the front and at the back, and one at each of the narrow ends. A mat about one metre high belonged to the tent; this mat was not a normal *afezu* mat, but plaited – apparently of dum palm material (cf. Fig. 272). A wooden bed (*tédabut*) was placed in the middle of the tent, occupying most of its ground area.

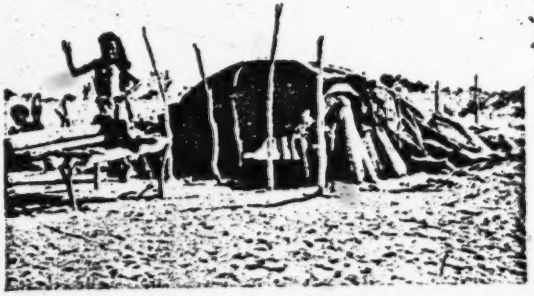


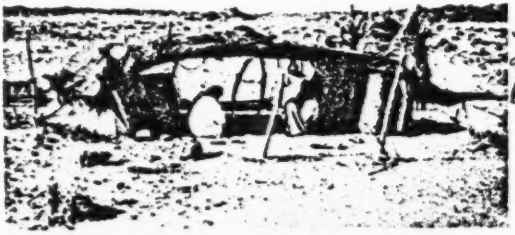
Fig. 271. Skin tent of the B.2.a.2. type. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Ireḏenaten* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

investigations seem to prove that the cross-bars with their upright forked poles form part of the structure, but the sheet may not always be supported by the cross-bars, as the suspension of the sheet in hot weather may be so elevated that the sheet rests only upon the arches which are somewhat higher than the cross-bars. Traditionally, the sheet is attached to the system of twelve poles mentioned above (cf. p. 364). 342*

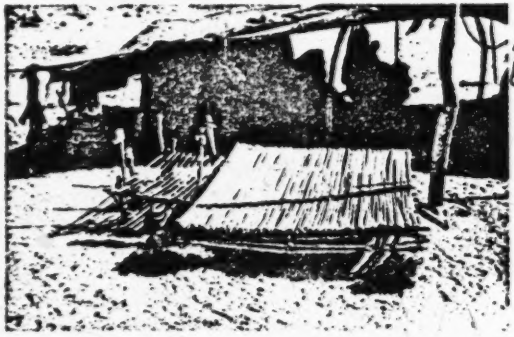
B.2.a.5. This tent, used in Ahaggar, is made up of the same structural elements as the above mentioned type, but the two arches are placed parallel to the longitudinal direction and at right angles to the two outer cross-bars. The Tuareg claim that this type is not a traditional structure. The arches, they say, should traditionally be placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction and not parallel to it. I have only seen one tent of this type, namely in the *Amenukal's* camp close to Abalessa. The two arches in this case were not made of tamarix roots but of slender palm-fronds lashed together with cords. The arches were about 1.10 m high and 0.90 m in width (cf. Fig. 273).

The following two tents used by the Ahaggar Tuareg are hybrid types which seem to be used mainly in the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe where I have seen a few:



342*
281
[516]

Fig. 273. Skin tent of the B.2.a.5. type. Ahaggar, the *Kel Rela* tribe.



[352]
[824]

Fig. 274. A close-up of the above tent (Fig. 273). In the foreground are beds for a married couple and a child. Such beds made of palm leaves' ribs are rare among pastoral Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Kel Rela* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

*342 B.2.a.6. The tent has one arch made of tamarix root, and this arch is placed parallel to the longitudinal direction at the back of the tent. A horizontal cross-bar (*areğarağa*) rests with one end upon the top of the arch, while its other end is supported by a vertical forked pole at the front of the tent. At both sides of this cross-bar there is a cross-bar (*areğarağa*) resting upon two forked sticks (*tiğeffewin*). This type is excellently depicted by Lhote (cf. Lhote 1947a, photos 24–26 p. 49 & 64; 1955, Fig. 23 p. 256).

B.2.a.7. The tent is identical with B.2.a.6 with the exception that there are two central horizontal cross-bars resting upon the top of the hind arch and upon two upright forked poles placed very close to each other in the front.

[361] B.2.a.8. This is a tent described and depicted by Barth from a Tuareg camp south of the Niger between the Hombori Mountains and the city of Bambara:— The sheet is suspended over three pairs of sticks of which the middle pair is much higher than the outer pairs. The middle pair of sticks is not of the same type in all tents, for the two high sticks in some tents are bent against each other and kept together by means of a very short piece of wood ("Querholz"). Judging from Barth's illustration of this tent it would seem as if the two middle sticks, united by a small piece of wood at their bent tops, form a high central arch. The skin tent, which contains two beds made from date palm-fronds, is apparently a very large one. It is provided with a mat of the type generally used for skin tents (Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 345 f.).

We conclude this description of arched skin tents by saying that these dwellings seem to be found within most Tuareg groups. Such tents are not so common nowadays as they were earlier. This is true of Ahaggar, where most Tuareg had arched skin tents until quite recently. Thus several informants about 50 or 60 years old told me that in their childhood most Ahaggar Tuareg lived in skin tents of this type.

*342
281
●352

Fig. 275. Skin tent of the B.2.b.1 type. In the foreground a bed (*Addabar*) resting upon four forked sticks. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Ireğenaten* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

In literature there are tent descriptions which I have omitted in my survey of Tuareg tent structures, partly because the descriptions are unclear, and partly because they clearly indicate tents which are not erected according to any definite method (cf. Demoulin 1928, p. 159; Campbell 1928, p. 205; Bernard quoted by Laoust 1930, p. 225).

Finally, I add that the sheet of skin is very commonly used for a kind of wind-screen among the Tuareg. Such wind-screens are of two types:— (1) The sheet is attached to three or four sticks buried in the ground. A wind-screen of this kind is depicted in Fig. 284a. It serves as a temporary shelter for visitors in a camp. (2) The sheet is supported by three or four sticks placed in one row with a long stick resting horizontally in their prongs. Such wind-screens are seen in Figs. 284 b-c. They are used by the members of a household in ordinary camps, and it is quite common to erect tents in this manner during seasons when rainfall is not expected. Indeed, many Ahaggar Tuareg use their skin tents only for a part of the year, for skin tents are not too well adapted to the burning hot desert climate. If possible, many Tuareg prefer to live in the shade of rocks and trees, and if efficient shade of this type is found the skin tents are generally not erected. But the Tuareg will then erect part of the wooden structure, namely the forked sticks carrying cross-bars, as these elements serve not only as supports of the sheet, but also for the suspension of skin bags and various domestic implements (cf. Fig. 106).

Capot-Rey writes that the Tuareg skin tents are also less waterproof than mat tents (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 225), but this is not correct. During the rains, as we have seen, skin tents are preferred by many Tuareg who at other seasons live in mat tents, and we have also seen that many Ayr Tuareg will then cover their mat tents with skin. If skin tents were not well fitted for rain they would indeed be very badly adapted also to the Sudanese zone where they are widely found among the Tuareg.

There can be little doubt that the use of skin sheets is very old, for all over the world we find them used for portable dwellings among people at primitive subsistence levels. It is also substantiated by Feilberg that we have throughout the Near and Middle Easts isolated occurrences of skin tents, and that these seem to have been more common in these regions in the past. Feilberg mentions in particular the use of skin for tents among the Tuareg and among the Sluba of Central Arabia (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144). When Feilberg wrote his book on tent development in the Near and Middle East, a description of the structure of Sluba tents was not available. But later investigations have intimated that some skin tents of the Sluba do not seem to be structurally related to ordinary Tuareg skin tents, but rather constitute a kind of wind-screen (cf. Lundbæk 1962). I have mentioned above that the Ahaggar Tuareg also use their tent skins as wind-screens, but it is evident that structurally the normal skin tents in all Tuareg groups have nothing to do with wind-screens.

It is possible that the use of skin for wind-screens is extremely old among the Tuareg, but there seem to be some evidence that plaited grass mats for covering the true tents are older. We have seen that among Tuareg who use mat tents (the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*), the inner layer of mats covering the dome-shaped top consists of *éwerwer* mats made of plant stems tied together, and it has also been mentioned that certain arched tents among the *Kel Dennek* and the Sudanese *Bélla* are covered exclusively with mats produced on this principle. According to Duveyrier mats of straw were formerly used for tent covering among the Northern Tuareg, and it is possible that the *afezu* mats, which seem to constitute the walls of all Tuareg skin tents, may be considered a survival from tents